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Mr. Lowery has devoted for several years a large share of his time and means to the study of this portion of Spanish-American history. Starting with the standard historical treatises, he has accepted their conclusions, verified their references and consulted the public and private sources of information opened to him by his influential Spanish connections. His narrative is based, perforce, upon the writings of previous investigators, Dr. Shea, Buckingham Smith, Bandelier, and the publications of the National Bureau of Ethnology, but he has substantiated their opinions by abundant references to the authorities. New, and true, facts would hardly be expected from the fields which have been so thoroughly gleaned by Sir Arthur Helps and Varnhagen, John Fiske and Barnard Shipp. Mr. Lowery has, however, been rewarded in his study of the original documents by bringing to light a number of important corrections of errors in the opinions of previous writers, especially in those parts of the field where he has been enabled to supplement his own researches by those of Mr. Hodge of the Smithsonian Institution. It is unfortunate, in this work which is quite certain to rank as a standard authority and a principal source of popular knowledge concerning a very interesting portion of American history, that the résumé of the latest results of investigation did not also include so important a contribution as Judge Coopwood's study of Cabeza de Vaca. However, this comment is perhaps the best tribute to the value and merit of the volume which Mr. Lowery has given us. He has provided a readable and reliable account of each of the early Spanish expeditions into what is now the United States. By careful and thorough search he has gathered all the available information, not only about the better known explorers whose names are in the text-books, but equally about the less important ventures, meaningless each by itself, which become significant when grouped together so that the bearing of each upon the whole movement of colonial development becomes apparent. He has brought together the scattered references to a score of random voyagers; stray wanderers, who survive only in chance allusions to otherwise unheard-of happenings, such as the puzzling "Pompey stone" in New York, or the story of a "Columbus church" in Florida. Equally interesting, and equally new to most readers, are the accounts of the early Spanish martyrs on this soil, men who died as nobly and as truly for the cross as any of their fellow missionaries in the first or the last of Christian centuries.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP.

English Politics in Early Virginia History. By ALEXANDER BROWN, D.C.L. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1901. Pp. vi, 277.)

DR. ALEXANDER BROWN has performed an important service for American scholarship in collecting and publishing a mass of hitherto unprinted material on early Virginia history, and in coördinating and rendering generally available additional material that was so scattered, or

in such rare books, as to be difficult of use. With due recognition of Dr. Edward D. Neill's valuable work, it is not too much to say that Dr. Brown has most fully presented the history of the first successful colonization of England in America, in its due importance, as the work of a great and influential company of prominent Englishmen, and has shown the relations of the movement to the Spanish diplomacy and to the political struggles in England. To have transferred the center of gravity of early Virginia history from Pocahontas to the London company, is in itself a work that entitles him to the gratitude of serious historical students.

In his *Genesis of the United States*, Mr. Brown presented documentary material and annotations on the period from 1606 to 1616. This he followed by *The First Republic in America*, in which he traced Virginia history from 1606 to 1627. In the latter volume, Mr. Brown showed defects in his mode of treatment which unfortunately reappear in the present book. Nothing is more dangerous to judicious and discriminating historical work than to enlist on the side of a party. Mr. Brown is desirous that his readers shall understand that he writes from the point of view of the "patriot party," and in opposition to the point of view of the "court party." He holds a brief for the London company. This, in itself, would be less serious, if the historian allowed us to weigh his evidence and test the justice of his conclusions. But on some of the most important issues he cites no authorities; often he does not even name sources from which he quotes, and at times the reader is in the dark as to when Mr. Brown is giving the gist of a document, and when he is expressing his own opinions. The special student of Virginia historical material can, it is true, work out for himself the various printed bases of the assertions; but Mr. Brown has secured copies of unpublished manuscripts in the English public record office dealing with Virginia history up to 1624; and until he publishes his evidence the task of those who would weigh the value of his various statements is rendered particularly hard. Other natural organs of publication, like the *Virginia Magazine of History*, which started to publish Sainsbury's abstracts of these English documents, have suspended the publication because of Mr. Brown's announcement that he was preparing to issue them.

This failure to present specific evidence and citation of authority on which he bases controversial assertions is most unfortunate, for it detracts from the undoubted weight of many of Mr. Brown's contentions. It is earnestly to be hoped that he will find sufficient support to continue the documentary publication. His sacrifices and devotion to this task, as well as its intrinsic importance, entitle him to the thanks of students of our history. These documents, rather than Mr. Brown's views, will necessarily shape the opinion of historical scholars.

The argument of the present book is briefly as follows. The colonization of Virginia under the royal government provided by the first charter (1606) was a failure. The colonization by the London Company, under its charter of 1609, had for its purpose "'to lay hold on Virginia as a providence cast before them of double advantage,'—of escap-

ing the tyranny of imperial government, and of establishing, as a refuge, a more free government in America" (p. 10). "It was not for the sake of gain, but for the sake of the special privileges, immunities, and liberal charter rights that our primary body politic undertook to settle this country at the expense of their own blood and treasure." In a word, Mr. Brown holds that Virginia antedated Massachusetts as a refuge provided by the opponents of the Stuart policy to which they could turn for political freedom. Mr. Brown describes the development of the King's hostility to the company in its relations to Spanish influence; he notes the efforts of the King in 1620 to prevent the election of the liberal Sir Edwin Sandys as treasurer of the company, and the efforts of the latter and his friends to have their charter confirmed, in the succeeding year, by act of Parliament. This was followed by the prorogation of Parliament, the arrest of Southampton, Sandys and Selden (the leaders of the company), and by that protestation of the House of Commons which was torn from the journal by the King himself. Mr. Brown connects these attacks by the King with his Spanish negotiations, and with the efforts of Spain to secure the colony, and to prejudice the King against the leaders of the company ("the seminary of sedition"). Mr. Brown also associates with these events the ordinance and constitution of 1621 providing for popular government in Virginia, and he notes the Bargrave case, which led to the latter's charges that "Sandys had told him his purpose was to erect a free popular state in Virginia in which the inhabitants should have no government put upon them but by their own consent," and that he was opposed to monarchy.

Mr. Brown's next contention is that the Crown aimed to suppress all the evidence favorable to the company, even by the seizure and destruction of its records, and that the official control of the press by license enabled him to exclude the company from publishing its side of the case, and to afford facilities to such works as John Smith's History. The latter he regards as personally "a man of straw," but the official narrator of the "court party"; his work has become the basis of American histories of Virginia, and thus the "patriot party" has been misrepresented and misunderstood. A considerable account is given of the later literature of the controversy down to the present time. Mr. Brown also contends that the provision for allowing a share in the company's stock to be obtained by personal adventure through settlement in Virginia, as well as by purchase, made the organization a body politic instead of a proprietary company, and rendered it possible to transfer the meetings of the company to America whenever a majority of the stockholders should be found in this country.

The criticism of these views must be brief. They are evidently too favorable to the purposes of the company. In extolling the framers of the charter of 1609, Mr. Brown apparently forgets that in its form of government it was the successor to a long line of other chartered English trading companies, of similar organization. He also places radical political opposition to the Crown too early in the reign of James in stressing

the significance of the charter. The whole period of the despotic iron rule of Dale, under the system of a single absolute governor in Virginia (a system which was not terminated until 1618), and the system of shipping "debauched" classes to Virginia, of which even Dale and Delaware complained, cannot well be reconciled with the theory that the primary purpose on the part of the company in 1609 was to create a model free state in Virginia. It is not without significance that not until 1618 did the company provide for an assembly in Virginia, and at that time the company's fortunes were only saved by the institution of sub-companies who purchased stock to make particular plantations; these were unquestionably conducted as business ventures. The company, moreover, never had the homogeneity of interests that would be necessary to permit this attempt to make a free republic in America as a refuge for English liberals. Mr. Brown recklessly understates the commercial purposes of the company in his endeavor to show its political purposes. But the political struggles were closely related to the economic well-being of the company on each issue. It would be difficult to reconcile Dr. Brown's theory that the government could be removed to America, with those clauses of the charter of 1609 in which the council is named as resident in London.

That Sir Edwin Sandys was a leader in the cause of English liberty both at home and in Virginia, a large-minded and liberty-loving statesman, there is no doubt. But Mr. Brown has attributed purposes to the company, particularly in 1609, to sustain which he offers no adequate evidence. He has shown, however, important connections between Virginia and the English struggle for liberty at the close of the reign of James.

Mr. Brown strains a point in his endeavor to show the persistence of "court party" and "patriot" divisions among the historians of Virginia down to the present time. One must repress a smile when he finds Mr. Brown himself obliged to extenuate mishaps in his previous books, by which he has at times fallen from the sound platform of the patriot party. The truth is that historians have lacked complete evidence and have not sufficiently noted the bias of the authorities on which they base their accounts. Mr. Brown's emphasis on the strength of party feeling at this period is well founded, but he has not avoided the danger of being himself affected by these influences. Why should the case not be examined with cool-headed historical criticism free from "viewpoints" of any sort? In his survey of the history of the literature of the subject, he hardly gives adequate recognition to the valuable volumes of Dr. Neill by which the company's place in Virginia history was first made duly important.

It is much to be hoped that the author will soon supplement *The Genesis of the United States* with volumes containing the material for the later history of the company. This, rather than controversial writing, is what is now needed to make clear the early history of Virginia. Surely, there should also be sufficient historical interest in America to warrant the complete publication, not only of the English material, but also of

the manuscripts at Washington, including the records of the London Company, so far as they are extant ; these are now available only in abridged form.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers. Published by the Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Edited by S. M. HAMILTON. Vol. III. (Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1901. Pp. xvi, 402.)

OF the material printed in Vol. III. of the *Letters to Washington*, the letters from George Mason, Crawford and Boucher, and the wills of members of the Washington family, have already been published. Of what remains, the most interesting series is that of Robert Stewart who continued in service after Washington had resigned, seeking first promotion in the royal forces, and then the means of securing a regiment for which he borrowed from Washington. Upon reaching London where he expected to make his influence serve to secure a commission, he was drawn into Lord Egmont's foolish but glittering scheme for settling St. Johns, and eventually received an appointment in Jamaica, which ill health obliged him to resign. More than forty of his letters appear in this volume. They show the interest of Washington in the welfare of his military comrades, and his readiness to receive their complaints and suggestions. Being now a member of the House of Burgesses his opinion on army questions carried much weight. A further reminder of his service was the grants of land made by the colony to the officers and soldiers of the Virginia regiment. Some delay in locating these grants had occurred, and Washington entered into the matter not only as an interested party but with the wish to obtain justice for his colleagues.

The volume thus covers the final months of his service on the frontiers, his marriage with Martha Custis, and the inception of the business interests of plantation management and land purchases which were to engross so much of his time and care. The most noticeable feature is the entire absence of family letters. The two letters from the Lewis family are the nearest approach, and the placing of "Jacky" Custis in charge of Jonathan Boucher may also be classed as a family affair. A few letters from the overseers and shipping agents bring us near to the business side of Washington's character. Yet the collection as a whole is disappointing, containing so little to throw light upon his more intimate relations. It is to be regretted that the opportunity thus generously offered by the Colonial Dames was not used to gather the more interesting letters to Washington scattered in many public and private collections.

I have had occasion to comment on the methods pursued by Mr. Hamilton in editing these volumes, and there is no evidence of improvement in this latest issue. An editor assumes the responsibility of at least giving an intelligible text, and to plead a *verbatim* reproduction is no excuse for errors of the writer that make the meaning obscure. A